

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EUR-12  
SSM-03 /102 W

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R 171250Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6284  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

S E C R E T CAIRO 10163

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINRS ET EG SO US  
SUBJ: EGYPTIAN POLICY RE HORN OF AFRICA

REF: (A) MOGADISCIO 1015, (B) CAIRO 9977 (NOTAL)  
(C) CAIRO 8401

SUMMARY: CURRENT GOE POLICY TOWARD HORN OF AFRICA MAY  
BE SUMMARIEZED AS FOLLOWS: (A) STRENGTHENING NUMEIRI  
REGIME IN SUDAN; (B) WORKING FOR COLLAPSE OF MENGISTU  
REGIME IN ETHIOPIA BY SUPPORTING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL  
PRESSURES ON EPMG; (C) TANGIBLE SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA,  
INCLUDING WEAPONS; (D) SUPPORT FOR AN INDEPENDENT  
ERITREA, INCLUDING PROVISION OF SMALL ARMS; AND (E)  
SUPPORT FOR AN INDEPENDENT DJIBOUTI. RE ERITREA, IF  
MENGISTU REGIME WERE TO FALL, GOE MIGHT REVERT TO  
EARLIER POSITION FAVORING AUTONOMY WITH ETHIOPIAN STATE.  
GOE SEES OGADEN AS ETHIOPIAN VULNERABILITY AND HAS NO  
OBJECTION TO SOMALIA IRREDENTIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
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PROVINCE. END SUMMARY.

1. RE QUERY PARA 2 REF A, GOE POLICY TOWARD HORN OF  
AFRICA HAS IN PAST BEEN FLUID DEPENDING UPON CIRCUM-  
STANCES. FOLLOWING ABORTIVE SUDANESE COUP OF JULY 1976  
AND EMERGENCE OF MENGISTU REGIME IN ETHIOPIA, IT HAS  
UNDERGONE SOME CHANGES. IT IS CURRENTLY AIMED AT

STRENGTHENING WEAK NUMEIRI REGIME IN SUDAN BY SEEKING TO WEAKEN OR, BETTER STILL, BRING DOWN MENGISTU REGIME THROUGH A SERIES OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES. GOE PROFFESSES TO REMAIN CONCERNED THAT EPMG, WITH QADHAFI CONNIVANCE AND FINANCING, HAS BECOME SOVIET SURROGATE TO PROMOTE ANOTHER SUDANESE COUP ATTEMPT. ULTIMATE SOVIET OBJECTIVE, IN EGYPTIAN EYES, IS SADAT REGIME ITSELF. EGYPTIANS CURRENTLY SEE TWO WAYS TO WEAKEN MENGISTU BEFORE HE FIRMLY CONSOLIDATES CONTROL WITH SOVIET HELP: SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA AND SUPPORT FOR ETRITREAN DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS.

2. RE SOMALIA, WHILE GOE DOES NOT ENTIRELY TRUST SIAD BARRE, SADAT IS FOR THE MOMENT WILLING TO TAKE IN GOOD FAITH THE SOMALI PRESIDENT'S CLAIM THAT HE WANTS TO GET OUT FROM UNDER THE SOVIET YOKE. GOE PREPARED TO RENDER SUCH ASSISTANCE AS MIGHT FACILITATE THIS OBJECTIVE, ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS ADMIT THAT SIAD BARRE PROBABLY WANT TO KEEP A FOOT IN BOTH CAMPS. EGYPTIAN DECISION SUPPORT SOMAILIA IS PURELY PRAGMATIC. IT IS BASED ON THEIR ASSESSMENT THAT LONG-STANDING SOMALIA IRREDENTIST CLAIM AGAINST ETHIOPIA RE OGADEN CAN BE USED TO HELP WEAKEN MENGISTU REGIME. WE DO NOT KNOW EXTENT TO WHICH GOE IS ACTIVELY ENCOURAGING GSDR TO ESCALATE IRREDENTIST ACTIVITY IN OGADEN. FROM WHAT WE GATHER, SOMALIS NEED LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT TO DO SO. CLEARLY, HOWEVER, EGYPTIANS ARE NOT SEEKING TO DISSUADE SIAD BARRE FROM GUERRILLA ACTIONS IN OGADEN. VP MUBARAK TOLD AMBASSADOR MONTH AGO THAT SOMALIA HAD ALREADY

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SEIZED SOME ETHIOPIAN POSTS IN OGADEN AND INTENDED TO ATTACK OTHERS, ALTHOUGH NEITHER GSDR NOR EPMG HAD PUBLICLY ADMITTED SUCH ACTIONS.

3. WE DO NOT KNOW EXACT NATURE OF EGYPTIAN ARMS ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA, BUT IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED TO US BY SADAT, MUBARAK, AND OTHERS AS LARGELY SMALL ARMS AND AMMO. DOUBT THAT EGYPTIANS HAVE PLACED ANY RESTRAINTS ON HOW OR WHERE THESE ARMS MAY BE USED BY SOMALI AUTHORITIES. EGYPTIANS WOULD DOUBTLESS LOOK THE OTHER WAY IF SOMALIS USE THEM IN OGADEN. SLIGHTLY MORE PUZZLING IS A MORE RECENT BIT OF INFORMATION RE EGYPTIAN MILITARY HELP TO SOMALIA. EGYPTIAN MILITARY SOURCE HAS ACKNOWLEDGED TO US THAT SOME T-34 TANKS ARE BEING SENT TO SOMALIA. THESE TANKS, SOURCE INDICATED, ARE OF NO USE TO EGYPTIANS DUE TO LACK OF NEEDED SPARE PARTS. SOMALIS, IT IS ASSUMED HERE, SHOULD BE ABLE TO OBTAIN NEEDED SPARE PARTS FROM SOVIETS. THERE IS AN ANOMALY IN THIS EGYPTIAN ACTION. ON ONE HAND, THEY PROFESS TO WANT

TO ASSIST SIAD BARRE TO GET OUT FROM UNDER SOVIET THUMB;  
ON OTHER, THEY SEND DELAPIDATED EQUIPMENT WHICH WILL  
REQUIRE GSDR TO DEPEND ON SOVIETS FOR NEEDED SPARE PARTS.

4. RE ERITREA, GOE HAS IN PAST ADOPTED A HANDS-OFF POLICY.  
IT HAS NOT WANTED AN ERITREAN BREAKAWAY FROM ETHIOPIA,  
ALTHOUGH IT HAS ARGUED FOR AUTONOMY AND BETTER TREATMENT  
FOR ERITREAN MUSLIMS. MORE RECENTLY, AND ESPECIALLY  
SINCE ADVENT MENGISTU REGIME, VP MBUARAK TOLD AMBASSADOR  
GOE POLICY HAS CHANGED. IT NOW SUPPORTS CONCEPT OF AN  
INDEPENDENT ERITREA. IF MENGISTU FALLS, GOE MIGHT REVERT  
TO SUPPORT FOR CONCEPT OF ERITREAN AUTONOMY INSTEAD OF  
INDEPENDENCE. SADAT HAS TOLD US GOE IS ALSO SENDING  
ARMS TO ERITREANS THROUGH SUDAN.

5. RE DJIBOUTI, GOE SUPPORTS INDEPENDENCE AND IS ABOUT  
TO SEND AN AMBASSADOR TO THAT CITY-STATE. SADAT SEEMS  
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TO BELIEVE THAT GDSR IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN INDEPENDENT  
DJIBOUTI.  
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## Message Attributes

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